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ABSTRACT

The study's purpose was to determine the degree to which homogeneous rural youths living in an economically impoverished region might be vulnerable to anomia, powerlessness, and deviance given varying levels of perceived limitations in opportunity and self-ability. Comparative data relative to earlier studies in rural areas was also provided. Analysis was conducted in accordance with a specially constructed multi-causal social psychological model which provided a plausible causal argument to link the influence of structural factors and adolescents' deviant behavior through 8 social psychological and associational variables. These variables were: deviation-proneness, anomia, powerlessness, perceptions of opportunity and ability limitations, peer-group ties, parental education, and father's occupation. A structured questionnaire was administered in 1974 to 1,074 seniors (605 males and 469 females) from 9 high schools located in the Upper Cumberland Region of middle Tennessee. All respondents were white, Protestant, and living in a poor rural area. Some findings were: adolescents who perceived that the structural and personal means for their achievements were limited tended to experience greater senses of anomia and powerlessness and consequently become more deviance-prone; and the effect of peer-group ties toward deviance-proneness was highly significant, especially for males. (NQ)

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Perceived Achievement Limitations and Deviance-Proneness Among Rural Adolescents

Considerable research has been conducted in recent years to determine the influence of sociological factors upon the attitudinal and behavioral deviation of adolescents. These studies have focused on such variables as socioeconomic status, race, religion, and size of subjects' residential areas, with the general assumption being that such factors imply differentials in achievement opportunities. However, this assumption typically is not made explicit, nor is an attempt often made empirically to ascertain adolescents' alienation and deviance-proneness in terms of self-perceived opportunity for legitimate achievement. While some studies (cf. Clark and Wenninger, 1963; Landis, Dintz and Reckless, 1963; Landis and Scarpitti, 1965; Mizruchi, 1964; Short, et al., 1965) have viewed perception of opportunity as either a predictor or an intervening variable of deviance, others, such as Liu and Fahey (1963), have found that perception of limited opportunity was more a consequence than a cause of delinquency.

In the present study, the analysis focuses on the degree to which rural adolescents are aware of having limited opportunities for achievement as these perceptions in turn affect their sense of powerlessness and anomia and, ultimately, their propensity toward deviance. The main argument here is that unless adolescents are aware of restricted-unfavorable situations, they are less likely to feel anomic and powerlessness and are consequently less likely to be susceptible to deviant activity.

Following Merton's theory of anomie, we therefore propose that awareness of limited opportunity will unfavorably affect the adolescent's outlook. It has been noted that American culture is characterized by its emphasis on two conditions for success: (1) equal opportunity to achieve success-goals; and (2) one's ability to achieve such goals. However, cultural emphasis on importance of ability and availability of opportunity tends to frustrate certain individuals more than others, with it perhaps being particularly frustrating to those youths who see restrictions in opportunity but do not see limitations in their own abilities for attaining desired goals. Hence, it is proposed that those who perceive themselves having a great deal of personal ability but being subjected to structurally limited achievement opportunities will tend to experience anomia, powerlessness and, ultimately, deviance-proneness.

It is further proposed that the two barriers to success, limited opportunity and limited ability, are associated with even more general perceptions of the individual toward cause-effect relationship per se. Thus, those who are highly aware of opportunity limitations tend to blame this situation on external sources, e.g., the "system".[1] The resulting negative attitude toward the society may thus incline the individual toward either withdrawal from or aggressive rebellion against the society. Many individuals who admit to personal limitations in ability also tend to blame external sources for their shortcomings, though many others see their limitations being a case of their own personal inadequacies. The

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[1]For an overview of both the sociological and social psychological literature making use of some form of the "internal-external locus of control" concept, see Durkheim (1951); Henry and Short (1964); Reckless (1967); Rotter (1966); Throop and MacDonald (1971).

associated responses of the individual to these perceptions may be expected to range from withdrawal to aggression toward others to self-aggression. In addition, those adolescents who are highly aware of the structural limitations in opportunity but do not recognize their personal inadequacies are likely to project their failure onto the larger society (cf. Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Lipset and Bendix, 1962; and Merton, 1961).

In an earlier study, Han (1971) indicated that the influence of the perception of limited opportunity upon powerlessness was greater for those who viewed their inability than for those who were unaware of it. In addition, anomia was found significantly related to both perception of limited opportunity and perception of limited ability. He found these two independent variables were additive in their impact on powerlessness, and sharply specified the relationship with deviance-proneness. The variations in the degree of perception of limited opportunity and perception of limited ability had different effects on powerlessness, anomia, and deviant-proneness depending on the levels of socioeconomic status of origin.

Considering the above propositions and findings, we hypothesize that rural adolescents who perceive their opportunities for achievement to be structurally limited but are unaware of their ability limitations tend to experience feelings of anomie and powerlessness, and consequently become more deviance-prone. These effects are expected to be influenced by the socioeconomic status of the youths' family and the extent to which the youths have established peer-group ties. Thus, the above relationships have been analyzed in the present study in accordance with a specially constructed multi-causal social psychological model. This model provides a plausible causal argument to link the influence of structural factors

and adolescents' deviant behavior through a set of social psychological and associational variables. The model further makes clearer the theoretically subtle associations between the variables and points out some of the experimental manipulations that might profitably be undertaken in future research.

The Model

The proposed model treats causal relationships among eight variables. X_1 is the adolescent's proneness to break socio-moral norms with peers, or deviation-proneness (DP); X_2 is the degree of anomia an adolescent is experiencing, or anomia (A); X_3 is the lack of confidence in one's ability to control sociopolitical events, or feeling of powerlessness (P) experienced by a youth; X_4 is the degree to which the adolescent perceives his opportunities for achievement being structurally limited through no fault of his own, or perception of opportunity limitations (POL); X_5 is the degree to which the adolescent perceives his personal abilities being limited for achieving goals, or perception of ability limitations (PAL); X_6 is the closeness and commitment to his friends, or peer-group ties (PT); X_7 is the educational level attained by the youth's parents, or parental education (PE); and X_8 is the occupational prestige level attained by the youth's father, or father's occupation (FO). Path analyses (Duncan, 1966; Wright, 1934; 1960; Heise, 1969) summarize the relationships studied, allowing a rigorous quantitative decomposition of variance, with multiple causal relationships being explicitly portrayed. Linear, additive relationships among variables are assumed to operate in a specific causal sequence through a series of recursive equations. The two socioeconomic background variables, X_7 (PE) and X_8 (FO), are considered to be logically

prior to all the other variables and are expected to influence directly the subjects' perception of opportunity limitations (X_4) and perception of ability limitations (X_5). In turn, X_4 (POL) and X_5 (PAL) precede both anomia (X_2) and powerlessness (X_3). Coupled with the relative surfeit of peer-group ties (X_6), the sense of powerlessness and anomia are in turn considered to directly contribute to a propensity for deviance-proneness (X_1).

The initial objective is to ascertain the degree to which adolescents' deviance-proneness arises out of tension or malintegration between cultural goals and institutionalized means. All of the possible causal linkages, by no means, seem theoretically defensible. The most logical ones are presented in Figure 1, where the straight lines represent causal paths that are theoretically expected and curved lines stand for unanalyzed correlations among variables which cannot be assigned causal priority with the present data.

Based on social class-related literature regarding deviance (cf. Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; England, 1960; Haskell, 1960-61; Kvaraceus, 1959; Merton, 1968; McCord and McCord, 1958; Scott and Vaz, 1963), the present study also emphasizes the educational and occupational attainment levels of the subjects' parents while considering their social origins. Although some recent studies (Akers, 1964; Han, 1971; Haney and Gold, 1973; Kelly, 1971; 1972; 1975; Kelly and Balch, 1971; Polk and Halferty, 1966; Schafer and Polk, 1967; Schafer, et al, 1970; Voss, 1966; and Winslow, 1967) have failed to observe a strong association between status origins and deviance, they continue to regard status origins as a contributor to deviance. Most of the above studies have considered only the father's occupation as the measure of the youth's status origin,

which has been correspondingly found to be a weak predictor of youthful deviance, while others have looked at parental social class as measured by education and occupation mainly and found it as the principal factor associated with adolescent deviance. The latter line of theoretical reasoning and empirical findings are further supported by several recent works indicating the correlation of adolescents' perceived opportunities and their parents' education and occupational attainments (cf. Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan et al, 1968; Elder, 1968; Havighurst and Neugarten, 1967; Sewell et al, 1969; Sewell et al, 1970). Accordingly, both mother's and father's education (X_7) and father's occupation (X_8) have been used as indicators of the adolescents' socioeconomic background in the present study. While the correlations between these variables and deviance-proneness (X_1) are low, their associations with anomia (X_2) and powerlessness (X_3) are significant. A low positive relationship ($r_{78} = .266$) is found between parental education (X_7) and father's occupation (X_8).

Parental education is anticipated to have a substantial direct effect on an adolescent's perception of both opportunity and ability limitations, as well as an indirect effect on anomia and powerlessness. This anticipation is logically supported by several earlier studies (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 313-330; Glick and Miller, 1956; Mulligan, 1951; and Sewell et al, 1957).[2] We presently theorize that the influence of either anomie or powerlessness is mediated by perception of achievement limitations (POL and PAL), as well as by exogenous factors, and that, together, these

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[2]The implication is that the attitudes, values, and positive orientations to education in the family affects educational achievement of the children, and through it occupational chances. It is the pertinent value orientation that activates potential personal economic resources and makes them serve as means for achievement and success.

variables exert profound effects on deviance-proneness. Accordingly, we hypothesize a direct path (p_{47}) from parental education (PE) to POL and another (p_{57}) from PE to perception of limited ability (PAL). We also hypothesize direct paths, (p_{48}) and (p_{58}), from father's occupation (FO) to POL and PAL, respectively. Of course, we do not expect negligible effects of father's occupation on POL and PAL but theoretically expect father's occupation also to contribute substantially to the adolescent's perception of achievement limitations.

Another substantial direct effect on deviation-proneness is anticipated from peer-group influences. Following the theses of Merton (1938), Parsons (1951:249-261), and Cohen (1955:59-61, 65-66), we assume that deviant behavior is in large part a response to individual perceptions of ambiguity regarding the society's institutionalized expectations. Such ambiguity typically occurs when conformity to normative expectations is strongly motivated but difficult to attain. In such cases, an individual frequently may break relations with the conforming members of his society and continues in his behavior without the support of persons whose norms legitimize the behavior, or he may select a new group which is sympathetic to his views and problems and eventually become immersed in their subculture. The latter interpretation is in line with Sutherland's theory of differential association (1947:5-9) emphasizing group association and interactional intensity as important factors supporting deviance, and with reference gorup theory in general (cf. Shaw and McKay, 1942:164-170; Glaser, 1956:440-441; Jeffery, 1965; Burgess and Akers, 1968; and Cloward and Ohlin, 1960:145-152). This body of thought has therefore suggested peer-group influence as another significant variable potentially useful in explaining adolescent's deviance-proneness. Hence, we hypothesize

a substantial direct path (p_{16}) from peer-group ties to deviance-proneness. We also hypothesize a direct path (p_{14}) from perception of opportunity limitations (POL) to deviance-proneness (DP), given the assumption that the individual may continue his deviant behavior without the support of persons who legitimize the behavior. We further hypothesize a substantial causal effect of peer-group ties on both anomia (A) and powerlessness (P). This is because we expect that peer-group members with whom the youth interacts very closely also experience similar attitudinal and behavioral ambivalence with respect to society's institutionalized expectations and will correspondingly be sympathetic to his problems and thus reflect back the individual's own initial sense of anomia and powerlessness. This implies one causal path (p_{26}) from peer-group ties (PT) to anomia (A) and another (p_{36}) from PT to powerlessness (P). In turn, we also hypothesize direct paths (p_{12}) and (p_{13}) from anomia (A) and powerlessness (P) to deviation proneness (DP).

There are thus 23 possible causal paths, given the sequence laid out above, though we hypothesize noteworthy effects for only 14 of these (see Figure 1). If this were a rigorous theoretical model, path coefficients would be calculated only for these 14 supposed causal connections. As we believe that it is not a rigorous model, and at this stage of our knowledge probably it cannot be, it would be well to calculate all of the possible 23 path coefficients and use the calculated values as rough indicators of the influences operating in the system. If the above theoretical reasoning fairly describes the reality to which it is addressed, the path coefficients for the 14 predicted causal lines are expected to be relatively greater than those for the remaining causal paths, for which causal prediction is difficult to make at the present time. Withal, it is quite possible that some

unhypothesized causal lines of importance may be observed and analyzed with future research efforts.

The presently proposed model is based on widely held social psychological thinking and is generally supported by the accumulated results of previous studies of youthful deviance in the context of varying types of communities. We believe, this model should prove especially useful in explaining adolescent deviance among boys and girls alike, given the reasonable assumption that cultural goals and achievement norms come to similarly affect girls no less than boys in the contemporary American society.

Method

Earlier studies (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Merton, 1964) have indicated that the impact of perceived opportunity limitations upon alienation and deviance-proneness is more visible among urban adolescents than among rural adolescents. The present study is therefore conducted purposely in a rural area to determine the degree to which homogeneous rural youths living in an economically impoverished region might similarly be vulnerable to anomia, powerlessness, and deviance given varying levels of perceived limitations in opportunity as well as in self-ability. An additional purpose of the present study is to provide comparative data relative to earlier studies in rural areas.

Data were collected in 1974 in a structured questionnaire from nine senior high schools located in the Upper Cumberland Region of middle Tennessee, which is primarily an agricultural and cattle-farming area. This area is sparsely populated and economically impoverished. A sample of 1,319 students was drawn from nine counties within this region. While

all high school seniors in these nine counties were given questionnaires, only 1,074 seniors (605 male and 469 female students) were used in the present study in order to secure homogeneous subjects with respect to religion and race. All the subjects were therefore white, Protestant, high school seniors living in a poor rural area. In this procedure, we have indirectly eliminated the contaminating effects of some structural variables such as religion, race, and residential area on the dependent variable.

Operational definitions of the variables utilized in this study are presented below. Three questionnaire items were used to assess the subjects' proneness to break socio-moral norms, a variable hereafter referred to as deviance-proneness (X_1-DP). The deviance-proneness statements are as follows:

(1) Suppose when you and your friends were "messing around"one night, they decided to break into a place and steal some stuff, do you think you would go with them?

(2) Suppose a friend of yours called and asked you to do something that your parents told you never to do, would you do this with your friends?

(3) Suppose a friend of yours wanted to do something you knew was wrong, would you do it?

These items indicated peers' influence in norm-breaking activities. The five response categories used were "everytime", "most of the time", "about half of the time", "some of the time", and "never", which were assigned scoring weights of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, respectively. Summated scores thus ranged from 1 to 15, with higher scores being considered as indicative of greater deviance-proneness among the subjects.

Srole's (1956) five-item anomia scale was used for the measurement of anomia (A-X_2). Again, scores theoretically ranged from 0 to 5, with higher scores suggesting greater anomia.

Powerlessness ($P\text{-}X_3$) is defined as a lack of confidence in one's personal ability to control sociopolitical events (cf. Rotter, 1966). For a measure of this variable, the first eight of Neal and Rettig's 12 factor-analyzed items (1963) were used. An example of these items is, "It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large." The weight of 2 was given to "agree" and 1 to "disagree" responses. Summated scores could range from 1 to 16, with higher scores being definitionally associated with a greater sense of powerlessness.

Perception of opportunity limitations ($POL\text{-}X_4$) was measured by responses to the following two statements:

(1) In these days it is hard for a young man like me to get ahead fast unless he is from a financially well-off family.

(2) It seems to be true that when a man is born, the opportunity for success is already in the cards, and so I often feel that I might be deprived of the opportunity.

The response alternatives of "agree" and "disagree" were assigned the weights of 2 and 1, respectively. Scores could range from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 4, with higher scores indicating the adolescents' greater perception of opportunity limitations.

One item was used to measure the perception of ability limitations ($PAL\text{-}X_5$), with the subjects giving responses of "agree" and "disagree" (weighted 2 and 1, respectively) to the statement that "Even though some people encourage me to become successful in the future, I often feel that I am not able and smart enough to become so". Thus, higher scores indicate greater perception of ability limitations.

Peer-group ties ($PT\text{-}X_6$) was assessed with the following five items:

(1) If a friend of yours was in some kind of trouble and the police asked you about him, would you tell them what you know?

(2) If a friend of yours was in some kind of trouble and his parents asked you about him, would you tell them what you know?

(3) If a friend of yours was in some kind of trouble and teachers asked you about him, would you tell them what you know?

(4) If a friend of yours was in some kind of trouble with the law, would you hide him?

(5) If a friend of yours has run away from home, would you hide him?

The alternative responses provided were "everytime," "most of the time," "about half the time," "some of the time," and "never"; the respective responses for the first three items were weighted 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, with the weighting being reversed for the last two items, i.e., 1 for "never," 2 for "some of the time," and so on. Summated scores could thus range from 1 to 25, with higher scores signifying greater degrees of peer-group ties.

Parental education (PE-X_7) and father's occupation (FO-X_8) are considered to be indicative of the youths' socioeconomic status. The respondent's parents' education levels were coded from 1 to 5, as follows: 1 for "neither parent graduated from high school," 2 for "only one graduated from high school," 3 for "neither parent went to college," 4 for "only one parent went to college," and 5 for "both parents went to college". Following an earlier work reported by Mookherjee (1971), the occupational level attained by the youth's father is divided into the three categories of "professional and business," "white collar jobs," and "blue collar jobs and service works," with the respective categories being weighted 3, 2, and 1.

Results

For male and female samples, zero-order Pearsonian correlations, means, and standard deviations for the study's eight variables are presented in Table 1. The intercorrelations show the relationships among the variables and provide one basis for evaluating the causal paths in the proposed model. It will be noted that the coefficients for some pairs of variables differ somewhat for males and females, which suggests the possibility that the independent variables' effects on youthful deviance may differ by subjects' sex.

For the present data, a complete path diagram would involve so many lines that its intelligibility would be greatly limited, given that path coefficients were calculated for all 23 possible lines implied by the causal model. Most of the path coefficients for hypothesized causal lines are larger than those not hypothesized. Both sets of standardized beta (or path) coefficients for the variables causally antecedent to deviance-proneness for males, females, and the total sample are given in Table 2.

Table 2 suggests that the reasoning presented earlier, offering a social psychological explanation for deviance-proneness, cannot be too far off the mark. We had hypothesized that perception of opportunity limitations (POL) and perception of ability limitations (PAL) were, with peer-group ties (PT), of central importance in explaining the adolescents' feelings of anomia and powerlessness. In turn, each of these variables are empirically found to have the predicted effects on deviance-proneness. Looking at the antecedent variables of perception of achievement limitations (POL and PAL), we note that theory and data again agree that perception of opportunity limitations (POL) and perception of ability limitations (PAL) are

affected directly by parental education (PE) and father's occupation (FO), with father's occupation having a lesser influence on perception of achievement limitations than parental education. Parental education may be crucial because it provides youth with the opportunities for understanding institutional expectations and for making use of the societal means provided for their attainment. Overall, however, the socioeconomic status of the youths' parents accounted, in the present study, for less than 4% of the variance in perception of opportunity limitations and about 2% of the variance in perception of ability limitations.

The importance of perception of achievement limitations, especially of perception of opportunity limitations (POL), in predicting anomia (A) and powerlessness (P) is immediately apparent. As shown in Table 3, POL has a direct effect of .40 on anomia and of .27 on powerlessness. The unique effects of POL on anomia and powerlessness explain 12.6% and 7.5% of the respective variances. The importance of peer-group ties (PT) in explaining anomia and powerlessness is not negligible. Peer-group ties explains 2.2% of the variance in anomia for the total sample, slightly more than 3% of the variance for the males, and less than 1% for the females. Correspondingly, peer-group ties explains less than 2% of the variance in powerlessness for the total sample, while accounting for approximately 4% of the variance in powerlessness for the females but only one-half of 1% for the males. In other words, peer-group ties alone were found to explain little of the variance in powerlessness. While taken together, the perception of achievement limitations (POL and PAL) and peer-group ties account for about 17% of variance in anomia for all samples, but slightly less than 10% of variance in powerlessness for the males and total sample, and about 13% for the females.

Taken separately, perception of opportunity limitations (POL), perception of ability limitations (PAL), anomia (A), and powerlessness (P), explained very little of the variation in deviance-proneness (DP) for the present subjects. Of these four variables, only perception of opportunity limitations explained less than 3% and 2% of the variance in deviance-proneness for the male and combined samples, respectively. On the other hand, peer-group ties (PT) alone explained 17% of the variance in deviance-proneness for the total sample, 15% for the males, and 23% for the female subjects. As hypothesized, adding the effects of all four of the above variables together resulted in about 20% of the total variance in deviance-proneness being explained for both the male and total samples and slightly more than 26% being explained for the females.

Most of the non-predicted paths are very weak with the exception of a few, such as the direct path from parental education to anomia (p_{27}=.138) for females. This finding might imply the existence of a mediating factor, such as one's self-conception of parental education as an added pressure, which could indirectly influence the subject's feeling of anomia. It should be noted that the paths with coefficients below .100 have been removed from the equations, with the exception of some variables which have been retained in all equations because of their methodological and theoretical importance.

Path coefficients for each sex category and for the total sample are presented in Table 3 for the proposed model. With a few exceptions, coefficients for both sexes are very similar to those for the total sample. Only one path coefficient for the males and two path coefficients for the females differ more than .05 from those of the total sample, and only one of these coefficients differs more than .10. If comparisons are made

between the sex categories, path coefficients for the males differ from those of females at least in eight of fourteen instances. In six of these cases the coefficients differ more than .05, while in two cases they differ by more than .10. These differences are primarily noted among the path coefficients leading to deviance-proneness (i.e., P_{12}, P_{13}, P_{14}, P_{16}), with the values of these four causal paths being larger for males than females.

Another important item of interest is the determination of how well the total set of independent variables account for variances in anomia, powerlessness, and deviance-proneness. For the total sample, the variables account for 21% of the variance in deviance-proneness, 17% of the variance in anomia, and 10% of the variance in powerlessness. Similarly for the male and female samples, with two exceptions: the independent variables account for 27% of the variance in deviance-proneness and 13% of the variance in powerlessness for the females. Moreover, the proposed model accounts for 20% of the variance in deviance-proneness, 18% of the variance in anomia, and 11% of the variance in powerlessness for the total sample. While the model correspondingly explains for the male data 20% of the variance in deviance-proneness, 21% in anomia, and 9% in powerlessness, for females it explains 26% of the variance in deviance-proneness, 15% in anomia, and 14% in powerlessness. Thus, the model is obviously an effective system for explaining variations in anomia, powerlessness, and deviance-proneness. Among the independent variables, peer-group ties, perception of opportunity limitations and perception of ability limitations are found to be the key variables. In fact, peer-group ties alone account for 17% of the variance in deviance-proneness for the total sample. Other variables in the causal system contribute only relatively small additional amounts to the explanation of deviance-proneness.

In brief, we have found empirical support for our original hypothesis that adolescents who perceive that the structural and personal means for their achievements are limited tend to experience greater senses of anomie and powerlessness and consequently become more deviance-prone. The effect of the peer-group ties toward deviance-proneness is found to be highly significant, especially for the males (p_{16}=.514), a relationship quite similar to that perception of opportunity limitations and anomia and powerlessness (for the total sample, p_{24}=.401, p_{34}=.270). The influence of parental education on anomia and powerlessness is also noteworthy, though father's occupation was not found to be a powerful predictor of either anomia, powerlessness, or deviance-proneness.

Discussion and Conclusions

The above findings indicate several important implications regarding the confirmation, modification, or rejection of existing theories and empirical generalizations concerning anomia, powerlessness and deviance-proneness. Some of the implications will be elaborated in the following discussion.

The perception of opportunity limitations and the perception of ability limitations are treated here as symbolic variables and are assessed for their influence on anomia and powerlessness, and consequently on deviance-proneness. Socioeconomic status variables are considered as antecedent background variables. It has been noted earlier that, in the case of the present data, the "symbolic" variables are powerful predictors of adolescents' anomia and powerlessness. Perception of opportunity limitations (POL), particularly, is found to be an "interpretative-intervening" variable for anomia and powerlessness, a finding in line with previous

studies (Han, 1971; Ransford, 1968) supportive of the traditional symbolic interactionist perspective. This view suggests that the adolescent's feeling of anomia is definitionally formed by his interpretation of the situation, and that if he perceives that achievement opportunities are closed to him, he is likely to experience a relatively high degree of anomia, regardless of the supportive potential of such structural variables as "high" family status, or socioeconomic background. Our findings have thus not only confirmed the conclusions reached by Han (1971) and Ransford (1968), but have added another aspect to it. Similar to Rhodes' (1964) and Han's (1971)[3] findings, we have noted that while father's occupation is a weak predictor of anomie, parental education is significantly correlated with anomia and for females, a causal path from parental education to anomia is probable for consideration. We may therefore conclude that parental education directly influences the adolescent's assessment of differential distribution of opportunity and his ability. On the other hand, the weak predictive capacity of parental socioeconomic status in explaining alienation can perhaps be accounted for with the argument that the adolescent's anticipated future status rather than his family's status might more strongly affect his attitudes (cf. Han, 1967; Turner, 1964). This status of destination, for an adolescent, is a realistic anticipation toward his future position, which would determine his social placement and self-conception as far as his behavior is concerned as a preparation for his future career, and as such it is the most salient focus of concern and the influence of this status will be even greater than his status origin.

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[3]Han used Turner's (1964) classification of occupations as a measure of socioeconomic status of origin (SESO) in his study.

The above findings and implications further strengthen our argument that perception of the situation is quite influential in accounting for the attitudes and behavior of the present adolescents. It is presently proposed, then, that adolescents who perceive both internal and external achievement limitations are most likely to experience feelings of powerlessness and consequently to be more deviance-prone. Among others, Kornhauser (1961), Nibset (1953), Selznick (1960), and Neal and Seeman (1964) similarly argue that alienated, hence powerless, persons generally feel unable to control social events, a perceptual state assumed to heighten the probability of deviant behavior.[4] However, the causal paths from POL to P (p_{34}=.270) and from PAL to P (p_{35}= -.119) in the present study strongly suggest that the influence of perception of opportunity limitations (POL) upon powerlessness (P) is more pronounced whereas it is less effective for the perception of ability limitations (PAL). In addition, the existence of a positive path coefficient from powerlessness to deviance-proneness establishes the causal linkage between these two variables. Hence, this result is interpretable in terms of external-internal attribution of frustration. In our view, then, if the adolescent blames society rather than himself for his achievement limitations, he is more prone to deviance through action taken against the system rather than himself. This interpretation is in accord with the traditional position of anomie theory elaborated on by Merton (1938), Parsons(1951), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960).

In conclusion, perhaps the most important single finding of the present study is the influence of peer-group ties on the variables of anomie, powerlessness and deviance-proneness. The existence of highly significant causal

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[4]It is to be noted that not all researchers are in agreement with this interpretation. (for detailed discussion, see Han, 1971; Rosen, 1956; Strodtbeck, 1958).

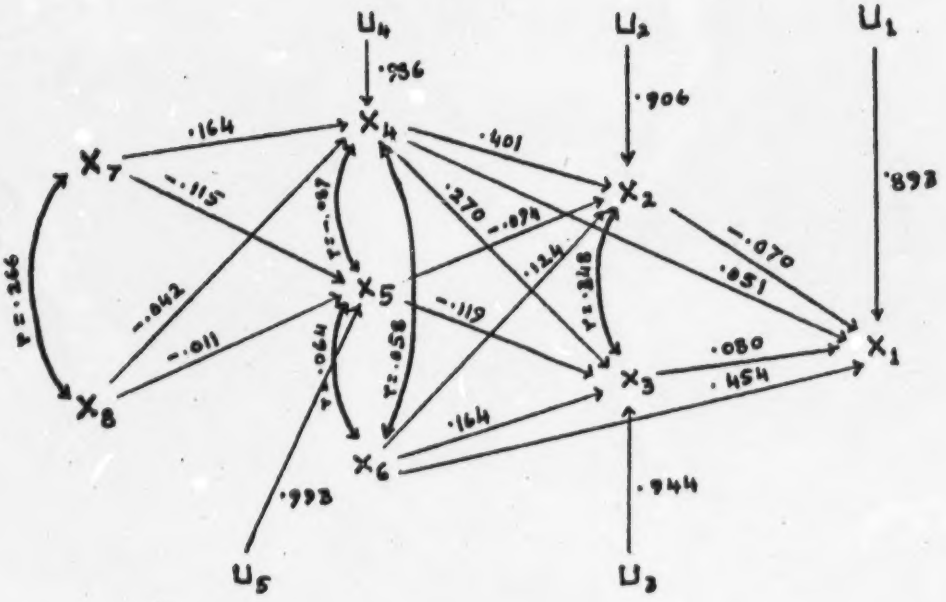
paths from peer-group ties to anomie (p_{26}=.167), powerlessness (p_{36}=.170), and deviance-proneness (p_{16}=.514) confirm our initial hypotheses and offer empirical confirmation for both the anomia theory of deviance and the theory of differential association. Summarized, the reasoning is that strain develops with malintregration of cultural goals and the society's institutionalized means of achievement. To resolve this problem the adolescents attempt to restore equilibrium to their relationships through such modes of adaptation as a shift in reference identifications to groups offering the greater possibility of status attainment and a more positive identity. This strain coupled with the availability within the opportunity structure for non-conforming behavior reinforces deviance-proneness for the adolescent. The present research findings thus suggest that the adolescent's potentially deviant behavior stems from his perception of achievement limitations, as mediated by his feelings of anomia and powerlessness, but needs strong peer-group support to be realized.

The linear model tested with the present data thus appears useful in illustrating the mediating function of intervening variables relative to the influence of selected social-structural and psychological variables on the propensity for deviant behavior. By assuming linear relations among the variables and applying causal path analysis, we have, within this theoretical framework, been able to explain a considerable portion of deviance-proneness among adolescents. It remains for further research to determine whether alternative models might better account for our present findings.

It should be remembered that although the results reported in this paper indicate that the proposed model has considerable promise for explaining adolescents' feelings of anomia, powerlessness, and deviance-

proneness, the generalizability of our findings and interpretations may be limited by having restricted our subjects to white Protestant adolescents (male and female) living in a predominantly rural area in the South. In addition, since this study is concerned with attitudinal propensity for deviance and not with concrete behavioral deviation, generalizations regarding adolescents' actual involvement in deviance must remain problematic until empirically resolved.

Figure 1: Path Coefficients for Antecedents of Deviance-Proneness of Rural Adolescents (male and female combined).



X_1 - Deviance-Proneness

X_2 - Anomia

X_3 - Powerlessness

X_4 - Perception of Opportunity Limitations

X_5 - Perception of Ability Limitations

X_6 - Peer-Group Ties

X_7 - Parental Education

X_8 - Father's Occupation

Table 1: Zero-Order Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of the Eight Variables for Male, Female and the Total Sample.

Variables	Variables									
	X_1 DP	X_2 A	X_3 P	X_4 POL	X_5 PAL	X_6 PT	X_7 PE	X_8 FO	Mean	S.D.
Male (N=605)										
X_1-DP	1.000	.104[b]	.004	.166[c]	-.096[a]	.382[c]	.031	-.041	5.648	3.008
X_2-A		1.000	.367[c]	.342[c]	-.150[c]	.182[c]	-.102[a]	.004	3.212	1.205
X_3-P			1.000	.267[c]	-.092[a]	.074	-.084[a]	.070	12.392	2.207
X_4-POL				1.000	-.102[b]	.057	-.140[c]	-.023	3.050	0.733
X_5-PAL					1.000	-.075	-.069	-.068	1.577	0.494
X_6-PT						1.000	-.002	-.077	15.494	5.162
X_7-PE							1.000	.208[c]	2.522	1.425
X_8-FO								1.000	1.638	0.805
Female (N=469)										
X_1-DP	1.000	.028	.096[a]	.028	.034	.479[c]	-.006	.044	4.318	1.777
X_2-A		1.000	.330[c]	.365[c]	.106[a]	.089[a]	-.203[c]	.110[a]	3.109	1.276
X_3-P			1.000	.283[c]	.128[b]	.199[c]	-.124[a]	.026	12.627	2.139
X_4-POL				1.000	.072	.041	-.150[c]	-.020	2.979	0.739
X_5-PAL					1.000	.062	-.134[b]	-.024	1.424	0.495
X_6-PT						1.000	-.011	.007	14.258	5.345
X_7-PE							1.000	.364[c]	2.365	1.336
X_8-FO								1.000	1.814	0.831
Total Sample (N=1074)										
X_1-DP	1.000	.085[b]	.016	.126[c]	.070[a]	.412[c]	.034	-.039	5.065	2.626
X_2-A		1.000	.348[c]	.355[c]	.126[c]	.148[c]	-.141[c]	-.052	3.169	1.238
X_3-P			1.000	.274[c]	.106[c]	.124[c]	-.104[c]	.032	12.502	2.182
X_4-POL				1.000	-.087[b]	.058	-.142[c]	-.028	3.021	0.737
X_5-PAL					1.000	.064[a]	-.103[c]	-.048	1.423	0.494
X_6-PT						1.000	.002	-.051	14.967	5.288
X_7-PE							1.000	.266[c]	2.452	1.387
X_8-FO								1.000	1.714	0.820

[a]Significant at .05 level of probability.
[b]Significant at .01 level of probability.
[c]Significant at .001 level of probability.

Table 2: Standardized Beta Coefficients and Coefficients of Determination for Hypothesized and Nonhypothesized Causal Paths for Male, Female and the Total Sample.*

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables							Coefficient of Determination
	X_2 A	X_3 P	X_4 POL	X_5 PAL	X_6 PT	X_7 PE	X_8 FO	R^2
Male								
X_1-DP	-.111	.128	.100	-.004	.521	-.082	.119	.210
X_2-A			.337	-.124	.139	.057	-.041	.172
X_3-P			.249	-.065	.060	.051	-.088	.088
X_4-POL						.142	-.065	.023
X_5-PAL						-.078	-.031	.007
X_6-PT						-.014	.052	.003
Female								
X_1-DP	-.020	.062	-.010	-.007	.347	-.013	-.028	.266
X_2-A			.336	-.071	.070	.138	.039	.169
X_3-P			.259	-.089	.182	.067	.015	.129
X_4-POL						.202	-.018	.039
X_5-PAL						-.162	.031	.025
X_6-PT						.013	-.012	.000
Total								
X_1-DP	-.062	.081	.060	-.003	.454	-.063	.056	.209
X_2-A			.338	-.097	.113	.088	.002	.167
X_3-P			.251	-.073	.107	.067	-.048	.098
X_4-POL						.164	-.042	.027
X_5-PAL						-.115	-.011	.013
X_6-PT						-.013	.034	.001

*Underlined coefficients are for hypothesized paths.

Table 3: Path Coefficients and Coefficients of Determination with the Proposed Model for Male, Female and the Total Sample.

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables X_2 A	X_3 P	X_4 POL	X_5 PAL	X_6 PT	X_7 PE	X_8 FO	Coefficient of Determination R^2
Male								
X_1-DP	-.119	.125	.086		.514			.195
X_2-A			.406	-.103	.167			.205
X_3-P			.257	-.096	.170			.093
X_4-POL						.142	-.065	.023
X_5-PAL						-.078	-.031*	.007
Female								
X_1-DP	-.021*	.058	-.011*		.348			.264
X_2-A			.391	.079	.062			.146
X_3-P			.297	-.147	.180			.142
X_4-POL						.202	-.018*	.039
X_5-PAL						-.162	.031*	.025
Total								
X_1-DP	-.070	.080	.051		.454			.202
X_2-A			.401	-.094	.124			.179
X_3-P			.270	-.119	.164			.108
X_4-POL						.164	-.042	.027
X_5-PAL						-.115	-.011*	.013

*Coefficients are less than twice their standard errors.

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